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EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF ROMAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

It is a common saying that the ancient Hebrews were preeminent in religion and ethics, the Greeks in literature and art, and the Romans in law and government. The Romans themselves understood well the distinctive characteristics of their nation. When, for example, Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations* 1.2 and 4.1, *De Republica*, 1.70) compares his countrymen with the Greeks, he claims as a matter of course that the Romans are superior in the arts of war and government. Vergil expresses a similar opinion in the famous locus rhetoricus (*Aeneid* 6. 847-853):

'Others, I can well believe, will mould with softer grace lifelike forms of bronze, and shape the living face in marble; plead cases with more skill; describe the paths of heaven, and tell the rising of the stars. But thou, Roman, bend thy mind to rule the nations with thy sway—this art will be thy own—to impose the law of peace, to spare the vanquished, and subdue the proud'.

The characterization expressed and implied in the words of these representative men is just. In general the Romans were inferior to the Greeks in literature and art. They were men of action rather than philosophers. They were a nation, not of artists and authors, but of warriors, lawyers, and statesmen. They have been equalled by others in war and conquest; but in the art of government, in statesmanship, they have remained without a rival till modern times.

They founded the greatest Empire known to the ancient Western world. For several centuries they governed the most enlightened and the most progressive nations of antiquity. In various regions of the East, as of the West, the Roman imperial period, according to Theodor Mommsen, marks a climax of good government never attained before or since. In fact, Mommsen goes so far as to say that, if an angel of the Lord were to decide whether the domain ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with the greater intelligence and the greater humanity then or now, it is very doubtful if the decision would prove in favor of the present (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, English translation by W. P. Dickson, 1.5). When we consider the extent of the Roman dominions and the number and character of the subject nations, as well as the comparative excellence and duration of the Roman government, we conclude that the Romans are the imperial people of the past ages, and that their most original and valuable

contributions to European civilization are to be found in the sphere of law and government.

Under these circumstances the political institutions of Rome would in any case be of high importance, but they have gained greatly in interest and value to the student, because they were developed in so conservative a way and bear the national stamp. In the words of Cicero, the Roman constitution 'did not spring from the genius of one individual, but from that of many; and it was not established in the lifetime of one man, but in the course of several ages and centuries' (*De Republica* 2.2). It is a product and a true image of the national mind and character. It records some of the most important events of Roman history, and it reflects the varying opinions of the nation and its rulers. As opinions changed, it granted more and more the claims of individual liberty until finally almost all freemen became Roman citizens; it satisfied more and more fully the demands for national equality until it became the most cosmopolitan of all imperial constitutions. It influenced profoundly the activities, the development, and the condition of the Roman people. The history of the constitution forms the framework of the general history of Rome. It is the pillar around which the vine and ivy of the political, economic, religious, and literary records are entwined.

If a student is to understand the activities of the public men, the parties, the social and economic conditions of Rome, he will find a general knowledge of the constitutional history to be indispensable. To do justice to Cicero, for example, we have to know something about the constitutional principles and practice of his time. Was the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators unconstitutional? Were the laws of Caesar during his consulship in 59 B.C. contrary to the constitution? To what extent did Pompeius contribute to the downfall of the Republic by restoring the tribunician power and by holding his military commands? Such questions can be answered only in the light of Roman constitutional history.

Let us turn from individuals to parties and events. Who could trace the causes of the American Revolution, without knowing the traditional rights of Englishmen? Who can comprehend the growing influence of the commons of England, while he remains ignorant of their power to grant or refuse appropriations? A fair knowledge of the rights and disabilities of Roman citizens—a fundamental part of the constitution—is

equally necessary in studying the struggles between the patricians and the plebeians, and the tribunician power of intercession is the key to plebeian success.

In the same way, the formation of the senatorial class at Rome, of the equestrian class, and the degeneracy of the middle and lower orders into a rabble cannot be understood without some knowledge of the management of the public domain, of the system of taxation, and ultimately of the provisions and the working of the constitution.

Roman constitutional history is intimately connected with the literary history, and helps to explain the characteristics of the literature at different periods. I will mention simply the greater freedom and originality of the Republican writers, and the more artificial character, the servility, and the passion of some of the authors under the early Empire.

In some cases the constitutional history shows the special conditions under which a branch of literature, for instance Roman eloquence, was developed. A few words on the advantages and disadvantages of a Roman as compared with an American orator will illustrate this statement. The criminal lawyer at the present day is greatly aided by the presumptive innocence of the defendant, by the general rules of evidence, and by great license in the rejection of jurymen. If unsuccessful in the court of first instance, he can usually appeal to higher courts, and, as a last resort, he can petition a generous executive. The Roman lawyer, Cicero, for example, was not greatly aided or hampered by rules; he did not spend much time on the selection of a jury; and he did not have much of an opportunity to secure a reversal of the sentence or a pardon. It was a question of now or never. He was put upon his mettle, and relied, not on technicalities, but on his eloquence.

An American statesman, like Fisher Ames, may by a magnificent speech persuade our national House of Representatives to pass an important but unpopular bill. Then he must secure its passage in the Senate also, and finally he has to obtain the signature of the President. In the meantime, the bill will be further discussed, and the spell of his oratory will be broken. According to the Roman constitution, Cicero could then and there persuade the Senate, or sway the multitude, and shape the destiny of a great nation. If to these advantages we add the historic associations of seven centuries and the emotional character of a Southern people, we can largely account for the comparative absence of technical pleas and close argument, and for the unbridled invective, the extravagant praise, and the vehemence of Roman orators.

A thorough knowledge of the constitutional history is absolutely necessary for those who wish to master the writings of the Roman historians, as, for example, Caesar's Civil War, Sallust's Catiline, the works of Livy, Tacitus, and others, which form no inconsiderable part of the entire literature. It is an important aid to those who study the productions of Roman lawyers and

statesmen, such as Cicero, Pliny the Younger, and others. Numerous legal and political terms and allusions are found even in the poets; for instance, in Vergil, Horace, and Juvenal. Where such technical information does not appear to be strictly necessary, it will often give us a glimpse of the suggestiveness of simple expressions, and increase our enjoyment and appreciation of the literature.

In the works of Cicero the number of scattered but important legal and political phrases and passages is so great that they form our chief source for the constitutional history of the Republic. Every Latin student will soon meet with such words as *consul*, *praetor*, *ensor*, *patricii*, *senatus*, and a host of others. Even from the purely literary point of view it is not sufficient merely to transfer these words and say consul, censor, praetor, senate, and patricians. The historic associations are lost, and a word without associations, like a flower stripped of its corolla and calyx, is almost devoid of color, beauty, and interest. To cite one example, Roman constitutional history will show the student that our ideas of our Federal Senate are quite different from the ideas associated in the Roman mind with *senatus* and *patres*. We may think of the classic days of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, or of Seward and Sumner. But the annals of our Federal Senate are short, it has never been a fully representative body, and its independent powers are comparatively few and unimportant. On the other hand, the beginnings of the Roman Senate are lost to view in the midst of prehistoric tradition. During the best period it fully represented the political wisdom and the statesmanship of Rome. It had ample independent powers and wielded great influence for the space of almost five centuries and for many generations it governed the State. In sagacity, consistency, tenacity of purpose, in courage and energy it 'was the noblest organ of the nation, and the foremost political institution of all antiquity' (see Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I.411).

Such in brief is the educational value of a knowledge of the constitutional history to the student of Roman history and literature. Much might be added in regard to the opportunities for original research which the constitutional history offers, regarding the mental discipline which it affords, the political interest which it may arouse, the clear, broad, and impartial political ideas which it is fitted to impart; or I might dwell on the lessons which the greatest Republic of antiquity can teach us, the citizens of the greatest modern Republic, and on the vast influence which Roman political institutions have exerted down to the present day; but space would not permit.

In view of all the facts I do not consider it advisable to have Latin students read repeatedly for several years such terms as *dictator*, *consul*, *praetor*, *censor*, *aedilis*, *tribunus plebis*, *quaestor*, and *comitia*, without knowing what they mean. A short course on Roman constitutional law, that is, on public antiquities, ought to be given in every High School, preferably in connec-

tion with Cicero. Such a course would suffice to give the student a general outline of the constitution in the time of Cicero. It would help him to group the isolated facts and to connect them with such facts of American history as he may know. It would make the facts a part of his intellectual stock in trade and enable him to read Latin with more facility. He would gain a larger insight into Roman life and thought and become more interested in his work.

In Colleges and Universities courses in Roman constitutional history and law are naturally provided in the Department of History. I prefer a course in constitutional history to one in constitutional law, because the history deals more with causes and effects, with the working of the constitution, and with the characteristics of the different periods. Hence, it makes the subject easier, more interesting, and more instructive. It seems also to be more in harmony with the point of view, the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race, as is indicated, for instance, by the fact that courses in English constitutional history are numerous, but courses in English constitutional law are few and technical.

In conclusion, Roman constitutional history describes the greatest and the most national work of an imperial people—the chief factor of Roman civilization; it is an indispensable aid to the student of Roman history and literature, it enlightens him regarding one of the most important forces in European civilization; and accordingly it should constitute an essential, though not necessarily a large, element of all classical education, whether in High School or University.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

JOHN E. GRANRUD.

SUBTERFUGE THROUGH THE MEANS OF LANGUAGE

According to the Old Testament narrative, a famine had been raging in the land of Canaan, and the sons of Jacob went to Egypt to buy grain. They had an interview with their brother Joseph, who was at that time viceroy of Egypt. He did not speak his native language to them and pretended not to know them. They supposed that he still was a slave in a foreign country and so did not recognize him. They conversed among themselves, but did not imagine that he understood them; for he spoke unto them through an interpreter. Thus Joseph held aloof and temporarily concealed his identity (Genesis 42.23).

It may happen, however, that a person wishes to address a particular individual in the presence of others. To preserve secrecy, he must employ a language that is known only to the person addressed. It is said (Plutarch, *Moralia*, De Defectu Oraculorum, 5) that in the time of the Persian wars the barbarians sent an envoy to the oracle of Apollo Ptoüs. The priest, who was accustomed to return the oracle's answers in Aeolic Greek, spoke to the Persian in the barbarian language so that none of the assistants understood a word. By this they were given to understand that it

was not lawful for the barbarians to have the use of the Greek tongue to serve their pleasure¹.

In war one can in his own tongue safely address his compatriots serving in the enemy's ranks (Herodotus 9.98). Before the battle of Mycale, the Persian ships were drawn up on the shore and a strong land force was arranged in battle array to meet the Greeks. Leoty-chides, the Greek commander, then sailed along the shore and by the voice of a herald addressed in Greek the Ionian contingent enrolled under the standard of the Greek King:

'Men of Ionia, ye who can hear me speak, do ye take heed to what I say: for the Persians will not understand a word that I utter'.

It may happen that a legate in parleying with the enemy in the presence of his fellow-countrymen wishes to speak a tongue that is unknown to his kinsmen (Old Testament, II Kings 18. 13 ff.; Isaiah 36. 11-13; Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaeorum* 10. 1.2). In the fourteenth year of the reign of King Hezekiah, Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them. The Assyrian then sent Tartan and Rabsharis and Rabshakeh from Lachish with a great host against Jerusalem. When the Assyrians had called to the Hebrew king, there came forth Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah, the most intimate friends of Hezekiah. Rabshakeh, who was skilled in Hebrew, addressed the three men in their own language, saying that he would destroy the city. Then Eliakim with his companions was disturbed because the populace heard the speech of Rabshakeh and said:

'Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it; and talk not with us in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are on the wall'.

But the general, perceiving in what fear they were, with a louder voice, demanded the surrender of the city in the language of the Jews.

It may happen that a man has to speak a foreign language to hide his identity and escape assassination or he may speak a number of tongues to cause amazement in the people with whom he associates. As Hannibal in 218 B. C. was advancing toward Etruria, Longus attacked him (Cassius Dio, *Zonaras*, 8. 24.8, in Boissevain's edition, 1.206. Appian, 7.2.6, in describing this event does not mention the languages). Many fell on both sides, and, after having entered Ligurian territory, Hannibal delayed for some time. He was suspicious even of his own men and trusted no one. He frequently changed his costume, wore false hair, and appeared at various times as a young, a middle-aged, and an old man. He knew a number of languages, including Latin, and so he spoke different languages at different times. Like Harun-al-Rashid, he frequently made the rounds of his camp both night and day and, in the guise of a person different from Hannibal,

¹In this connection compare Cicero, *De Divinatione* 2. 56: *Quis enim est, qui credat Apollinis ex oraculo Pyrrho esse responsum: Aio te, Aescida, Romanos vincere posse? Primum Latine Apollo numquam locutus est.*

listened to conversations. According to Appian, he made these changes to increase the admiration of the barbarians, who thought that he partook of the divine nature.

A spy, by all means, must be able to speak the language of the people among whom he mingles. C. Mucius¹ in 508 B. C. had gone to slay Porsena, the king of the Etruscans (Dionysius Halicarnassus, 5.28; Plutarch, Publicola 17). When he came to the camp of the enemy, he entered, passing as a native, since he spoke the Etruscan language², which he had learned as a boy.

Two centuries later, when the Romans were again in conflict with their northern neighbors, Marcus Fabius, the consul's brother, undertook to explore the Ciminian forest. Having been educated at Caere, he was perfectly acquainted with the Etruscan language (Livy, 9.36). It is said that his only companion was a slave who had been reared with him and who also knew the language. They set out in the guise of shepherds. Their knowledge of Etruscan and their costume concealed their nationality, but they were also materially aided by the fact that no one expected a stranger to pass through the Ciminian forest³.

In war the enemy may be deceived by hearing their own dialect or language spoken on the opposite side (Thucydides, 3.112). In the Peloponnesian War (426 B.C.) the Athenian general Demosthenes set out after supper to attack the Ambraciots. At dawn he fell upon them while they were still in their beds and had no knowledge of his movement. In fact they imagined that his forces were their own countrymen, for Demosthenes had purposely posted the Messenians first, with orders to address the Ambraciots in the Doric dialect and so create confidence in the sentinels.

According to Livy, 1.27, the Roman king Tullus took advantage of the fact that a portion of the enemy understood Latin. In a battle with the Etruscans, his Alban allies were defeated. A horseman came to the king at full speed and reported the flight of the Albans. In a voice sufficiently loud for the enemy to hear, the king said to the horseman that the allies had made that move by his command, in order that they might attack the enemy in the rear. In the ranks of the Etruscans were some troops from the town of Fidenae, which had been made a Roman colony, but had revolted and had again joined the Etruscans. Some of these soldiers understood Latin, and, taking Tullus's sham command in earnest, retreated. Whether Livy winks⁴ or not when he narrates this story, the story illustrates the same principle as the quotation from Thucydides.

In this connection we may compare the precautions that the Romans took in the Latin War (Cassius Dio,

Zonaras, 7.26.1-2, in Boissevain, 1.90; Livy, 8.6). The consuls knew that, if strictness of command had ever been enforced in any war, it was then particularly requisite that military discipline of the ancient type should obtain. Their attention was especially directed to this point because the enemies with whom they had to deal were the Latins, a people who used the same language⁵ and who had the same military institutions as themselves. In order that the soldiers should make no mistake, the consuls commanded that no person should fight with any of the enemy except in his post.

We have seen that Hannibal knew a number of languages. In the year 208 B. C., he sent a message to the citizens of Salapia through a fictitious deserter (Cassius Dio, Zonaras, 9.9.2-3, in Boissevain, 1.246-247; Livy, 27.28). About the fourth watch the Carthaginian approached Salapia in the guise of Marcellus, who had been killed in battle and whose signet-ring Hannibal had been using in sending letters to the Romans. His vanguard was composed of Roman deserters, armed in the Roman fashion. When they came to the gate, his men spoke Latin and ordered the watchmen to admit them since the consul was at hand. The stratagem failed. The Salapini, having been informed of Hannibal's artifice, artfully pretended to believe that Marcellus was actually approaching. They admitted as many as they could conveniently dispose of and then closed the gate.

It may also happen, however, that a person will try to hide his identity, not by speaking a particular language, but by keeping silent and pretending not to know his native speech. In 214 B. C., Achaëus was in a dangerous situation at Sardis, and Sosibius thought that he could best save him through the agency of Bolis. Cambylus, the commander of the Cretan contingent of the army of Antiochus, had charge of the outposts on the rear of the Acropolis. Bolis had an interview with Cambylus and treacherously undertook to put Achaëus into the hands of Antiochus on condition of receiving a certain sum of money. A man by the name of Arianus took letters from Nicomachus and Melancomas, which exhorted Achaëus to trust Bolis and Cambylus. Bolis and Arianus ascended to the Acropolis at Sardis and interviewed Achaëus. Achaëus took vain precautions, saying that it was impossible for him to leave the citadel at that moment but that he would come later (Polybius, 8.21). Achaëus then started with four companions whom he dressed in ordinary clothes, while he himself put on a mean and common attire and disguised his rank as much as possible. He selected one of his four companions to be always prepared to answer anything said by Arianus and to ask any necessary question of him, and bade him say that the other four did not speak Greek. But in spite of the fact that he did not speak Greek, he was

¹Livy, 2. 12. 5, in recording this incident, makes no mention of Mucius's use of Etruscan.

²Livy, 9. 36: habeo auctores vulgo tum Romano pueros, sicut nunc Graecis, ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos.

³For Decimus Brutus's failure to pass himself off as someone else see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.75. For the case of Orestes and Pylades in the Choephoroi of Aeschylus see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.75-76.

⁴Compare M. H. Morgan, *Addresses and Essays*, 13-14.

⁵Compare Livy, 24.47. At the capture of Arpi by the Romans, the Arpians were, at the beginning of the conflict, on the Carthaginian side. Some of the Arpians and some of the Romans, recognizing one another, began to enter into conversation.

recognized by Bolis, brought to Antiochus, and executed.

It is perfectly natural, under certain conditions, for one to use a certain language to win the confidence of the enemy, to deceive them, or to ensnare them. We can discuss subjects in the presence of our kinsmen and keep them secret by using a foreign language. A spy must naturally know the language of the enemy, and, the greater his ability in the foreign tongue, the safer he will be, provided he has taken the other necessary precautions. A general may even conceal his identity among his own allies by speaking different languages at various times. We must not be surprised, however, that our authorities do not give us more illustrations. The anecdotes related are simply incidents in matters of greater importance, but it is interesting to note the human touches that the classical authors give to their works.

SOUTH PHILADELPHIA
HIGH SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

DR. AVELLANUS'S REJOINDER

Professor Charles Forbes, of Phillips Academy, Andover, has reviewed two of my recent translations with such careful attention to the niceties of language and with such scholarship in his field of preparatory Latin, he has moreover in the introductory paragraphs of his reviews granted such a generous measure of praise for the features of my work which met his approval that I am hardly prepared for the violence of my final condemnation.

Of my Latin version of Ruskin's *King of the Golden River*, Professor Forbes said in *The Classical Journal* 11.28:

"It must be confessed that there is a dash and go to the story, a fluidity of expression, and a virility that command even our recalcitrant approval. The translation sweeps along with a determined rush, as a river should, but with the tokens of its travels in the flotsam of its waters".

Metaphors are mixed, but the praise is generous and acceptable. But Professor Forbes says again (31-32):

"That one should imagine it possible to beget a love for a foreign language by a *tour de force* in the creation of a literature offhand of a character that has no counterpart in that language, is suggestive of little else than an enthusiasm *informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum!* It is the imperative duty of those who believe in the worth of the authors of antiquity to prevent the furtherance of what I cannot but regard as a treacherous blow at the very existence of Latin in our schools."

This is nearly unmeasured condemnation and what is my crime? In 30 pages I used 267 words not found in the whole range of Cicero, Caesar, Nepos or Vergil. A critic not "recalcitrant" would probably think that in translating a modern fairy story I had done well to come so near the ancient tongue, but indeed the appraisal of my work is still better, for my critic admits that 109 of these 267 offenders are in fact classical and that the remainder are Latin—early or late. His adverse judgment nevertheless stands. The censured words are designated "flotsam"—although the word *flotsam* itself is early English and, like several other words in the short quotation first given, is not found in the whole range of the books of the Bible.

This sort of criticism—with others—Professor Forbes develops in his review of my Latin version of *The Adventures of Captain Mago*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.149-151.

"The Latin version . . . is certainly entertaining, and the reviewer is deeply grateful to the translator for the pleasure which he has afforded him. The story is full of bold adventures, dashing fights, varied scenes, and human feelings".

Notwithstanding all this a list is made of non-Ciceronian words used in *Mago*. The extent of my vocabulary is eloquently discussed and I am described as "a champion of late and decadent Latin" who flouts "the dicta of classical custom" to such an extent that the reviewer, "a classical teacher who is deeply concerned about the integrity of his work", is compelled to ask "to what end, other than a familiarity with the slipshod methods and habits of inferior writers" my flouting leads.

Probably the Bible is as good a standard for classical English as Cicero for classical Latin and I must deplore the use of the word *flout* and other words which are not found in either the Old or the New Testament. Professor Forbes is not concerned, however, about the integrity of the Latin language or he would not wish to exclude from *Rex* those 109 acknowledged citizens of classical Rome. For him it is only the integrity of "his work". For him Latin literature is forever confined to the vocabulary of four ancient writers—as though for purposes of preparatory school English, *Treasure Island* should be rewritten in the words of Edmund Burke or it should be thought necessary to change Sherlock Holmes into the style and vocabulary of Milton.

So impressed, indeed, was Professor Forbes with the disfiguring effect of my "flotsam", of which he says my *Rex Aurei Rivi* contains on the average ten instances—classical and unclassical but anyhow wrong—to a page, that he devotes a page of *The Classical Journal* (11.30-31) to a story of a Haunted House so told in obsolete English and slang as to be nearly unintelligible. Over a hundred of these strange expressions are used on a single page adequately to illustrate my Latin style.

The burlesque loses its point because so far overdone. Had Professor Forbes limited himself to ten words on a page that could not be found in the Bible, and if, of these ten, four or five were well known classical English words and the other no more remote than "flotsam" and "flout", there would have been no burlesque.

The difference between us, however, can never be reached by these methods of burlesque. Professor Forbes's success as a teacher of preparatory Latin is fully recognized.

All Latin nevertheless is not preparatory Latin. When a boy has entered a College or when a young man has finished College, the question presses as to what the study of this language can do or has done for him.

To my mind a knowledge of the structure of language and the making of an English style are but part of the benefit. Latin was not only the language of the Roman Republic, and of the Roman Empire. It was for centuries the language of diplomacy, science and literature in Europe and an acquaintance with the Latin language brings the student into relation with original sources of history—turns the mind to the rise and fall of the institutions of civilization. Much of this Latin—considered merely as language—was barbarous. Much was excellent, and in it is the history of Europe and of great issues of modern intellectual life. Moreover, the Latin was a vigorous living language. It is quite possible, Professor Foster Watson

says, that, even were there no Latin Classics, the Latin language would still be worth learning in order to read the writings of Erasmus.

Of all this vigorous Latin life little is now left except the traditional position of Latin in the Schools and even there the subject is shrinking so that it no longer claims the dignity of a language, but has become the text of four authors. To those who approve this narrowing I would advise a reading of Erasmus's amusing Ciceronianus. Of this Professor Jebb says:

"It is an appeal to common sense against an absurd affectation which marked the dotage of Italian humanism. Bembo and his disciples would not use a single word which did not occur in Cicero. Their purism, moreover, rejected all modern terms. . . . The gist of what Erasmus says is merely that other ancients besides Cicero wrote good Latin and that a true Ciceronianism would adjust itself to its surroundings. No one, it should be added, had a more intelligent admiration for Cicero than Erasmus himself".

I believe that if Latin is to be saved in our Schools it must be treated as a language. Before a Latin style can be learned, the language must first be learned. This is the daily experience of the race. We all know how languages are successfully taught and those who know the Schools and the Colleges know whether modern methods are successfully teaching any Latin style at all—to say nothing of a Ciceronian style.

How can style be learned without learning the language? Suppose a person had learned English by the study only of a poet and of an orator. What to him would be the meaning of Wordsworth's phrase "shades of the prison-house"? Why, if it chanced that in the authors studied no mention had been made of shadows and of jails, Wordsworth's solemn phrase would provide the only method of referring to a very commonplace shadow.

To understand the poet and the orator the student needs a real acquaintance with the language as well as with their writings. Words have no intrinsic essential value. More than anything else they are known by the company they have kept. They come from afar, not in entire forgetfulness, nor in utter nakedness, but bringing a thousand unremembered associations. Good literary style can never be unmindful of this, and, as Cicero made his style by selection, his writings can be understood only by those who know the language from which the selection was made.

How then shall students learn the language? If that be really the question, there is but one answer. Languages are learned by use—by much reading, much writing, if possible by hearing and speaking. And since modern stories interest modern youth I have tried to provide Latin reading which will invite the attention of the young.

"And if the ancient teachers of children are commended who allured them with wafers, that they might be willing to learn their first rudiments, I think it ought not to be charged as fault upon me, that by a like regard I allure youths, either to the elegance of the Latin tongue or to piety. . . . The rules of grammar are crabbed things to many persons. . . . And it is a matter of great moment early to disseminate a taste of the best things into the tender minds of children; and I cannot tell that anything is learned with better success than what is learned by playing".

That is the statement of Erasmus, and it is the teaching of common sense and experience.

I have tried to make my position clear, but I know how little argument can do. The conclusion in almost every case comes from the original point of view. Professor Forbes's position, like mine, can be burlesqued,

and each burlesque will convince those who believe that way to begin with.

Those who disagree with Professor Forbes and who believe that Latin, if it is really to be learned at all, must be learned as a language, will doubtless say that the preciousness of a few authors divorced from the history of the world since the time of Vergil, and living apart even from the Latin language, of which in fact they are but a fragment, marks the mere dotage of the study now as in the days of Erasmus.

I should like to reply to each of the criticisms which Professor Forbes makes upon my Latin, but they are very numerous, and my remaining space is small. I can deal but with few and choose the cases where his rebuke is most severe.

Servos . . . pro singulis nostrum dona ferentes. Pro me quidem scutum tulerunt, etc. Of these and many similar instances of my use of *pro* Professor Forbes exclaims: "What shall we do with our Grammars and our Dictionaries, if these expressions are Latin?"

A critic who speaks so positively cannot afford to be mistaken—nevertheless these expressions are Latin and classical. Compare *Reliqui Suevi domi manent . . . pro se atque illis colunt* (B. G. 4.1). The suggestion that this use of *pro* is a medieval corruption is extraordinary.

Of my expression *oculos in aequore pascere*, Professor Forbes says, "I know of no instance in Latin authors of *pascere* with *in* and the ablative". The expression is found in Cicero (Phil. 11.8): *Ac Dolabella . . . in eius corpore lacerando . . . oculos paverit suos*. The phrase *sub itinere* in my text the critic says should be *ex itinere*. The use of *sub* in this way is nevertheless usual: Compare Pompeius . . . *quo facilius impetum Caesaris tardaret, ne sub ipsa protectione*, etc. (Caesar, B. C. 1.27.3). My phrase *ab undis iactati* is also condemned. How then about Cicero, *mediocriter a doctrina instructus* (Brutus 66); *Nam quae spiritu in pulmones anima ducitur, ea calescit primum ab eo spiritu* (Cicero De Natura Deorum 2.55). *Prorsus, perquam* and *alioquin* Professor Forbes considers Apuleian. So, too, as has been seen, he considers *pro*, in the sense of *for*, a medieval corruption.

My text is better than the criticisms made upon it.

In conclusion I would like to ask what kind of a knowledge of Latin the Schools should try to impart. Should they give their pupils—so far as they can—a broad acquaintance with the meaning and the spirit of the Latin language, or should the education of beginners be confined to verbal niceties of a language which they are never expected to know? On this subject a footnote in Thomas De Quincy's Letters to a Young Man is interesting:

"It may be doubted whether Dr. Johnson understood any one thing thoroughly except Latin; not that he understood even that with the elaborate and circumstantial care necessary for editing critically a Latin classic. But if he had less than that, he also possessed more, for he possessed that language in a way that no extent of mere critical knowledge could confer. He wrote it genially, not as one translating painfully to it from English, but as one using it for his original organ of thinking".

Do the schools teach this kind of Latin to-day?
ARCADIUS AVELLANUS.

MR. FORBES'S REPLY

In The Classical Journal 11.25-32 appeared my article Chasing Phantoms in Latin Teaching, in the course of which I had found occasion to criticize the Rex Aurei Rivi. In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.149-151

appeared my review of the *Pericla Navarchi Magonis*, a study chiefly of vocabulary, usage, and syntax. By intermingling quotations from these writings of differing purpose and structure, the rejoinder may confuse readers. I do not feel disposed to answer, in these columns, the parts of the rejoinder bearing on the article in *The Classical Journal*. The question at issue in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* is one of scholarship, not of personal feeling.

In my review of the *Mago*, the material was spread before the readers for them to test for themselves. It would be interesting to see what the College Entrance Examination Board would do with similar matter, if it should be offered by candidates. The rejoinder manifests not a glimmering of the significance of my study of the vocabulary of the *Mago*, in its relation to the problem of instruction in our Schools. "For him (me)", runs the rejoinder, "Latin literature is forever confined to the vocabulary of four ancient writers". In my review I granted the *boy* reader all the words in Lewis's *Elementary Latin Dictionary*, before uttering a word of criticism. In the Preface of that Dictionary we read:

"The vocabulary has been extended to include all words used by Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Tacitus (in his larger works), as well as those used by Terence, Caesar, Sallust, Cicero, Livy, Nepos, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Phaedrus, and Curtius".

Comment is surely unnecessary. "All Latin nevertheless is not preparatory Latin". Certainly not; the Latin of the *Mago* is not. That is my point.

The instances of *pro* may be left to the consideration of scholars. They were not available when Hand wrote his treatise.

What I said about *sub itinere* is not answered by citation of the time phrase *sub professione*. I raised the question whether *sub itinere* occurs in a Latin author. When I discreetly seek the protection of the interrogation point, it is truly humorous to be rebuked for speaking "so positively".

In regard to the citation from Cicero Phil. 11.8, grammarians may feel, as Cicero did, a difference between this gerundive construction and the ablative of the stuff on which one feeds. Cicero, in common with others, uses the bare ablative in the latter case. Vergil uses *pascere* over fifty times, but never has a preposition with his ablative of the food. The evidence is overwhelmingly against the usage in the *Mago*.

In the discussion of *ab undis iactati*, there was neglect of my remark:

"The preposition with ablative in such phrases does occur in poetry, or in emotional passages involving personification, but the use is surely not to be imitated in ordinary narrative prose".

Well, is it?

Prorsus, *perquam*, and *alioquin* I do not "consider Apuleian", in the sense implied. What I said was: "Like Apuleius, Dr. Avellanus is fond of" them. The comparison is striking, as the data would show, but there is no criticism in it.

C. H. FORBES.

REVIEW

The Environment of Early Christianity. By S. Angus. New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, (1915). Pp. 240. 75 cents.

Dr. Angus's manual is an excellent addition to an excellent series (*Studies in Theology*). It deals concisely and brilliantly with the most fascinating chapter in human history, that blending of Greek and Roman and Hebrew cultures which formed what

Eusebius called the Preparation for the Gospel. The difficult task of 'boiling down' so vast and important a mass of material into the compass of this little volume has been achieved with remarkable success, and no better brief survey is known to me. Of course the book has the defects of its qualities: the style, which at best is incisive and epigrammatic, tends at times to suffer from compression and to become choppy and staccato, colloquial and careless; yet this effort at brevity does not prevent a certain amount of repetition. On the other hand, if space permitted, many a lucid summary of great movements and wide influences at work in the Graeco-Roman world could be quoted from its readable pages, as for instance this paragraph about the Greek genius:

Greek genius was nothing if not systematic. The Greek could not carry two thoughts without systematising, correlating, or subordinating. No half-knowledge, no confused piling of ideas, no chaotic learning, but ordered mastered learning. He arranged, scheduled, labelled. Epistemology was born with the Greek. He laid down the canons to which thought must conform to be valid, discovered the categories with a view to precise thinking. He put his intellectual house in order. He felt the need of harmony, and sought unity in diversity and diversity in unity. The Greeks were the first real philosophers. They took great pains in reclaiming the domain of knowledge and mapping it out. They converted everything into an art. They found the confusion of Oriental warfare, and *they* evolved tactics; they found the Egyptians measuring fields, and *they* built up geometry and mathematics; they learned writing from the Phoenicians, but *they* wrote; they found men compiling chronicles, and *they* made it history; out of conflicting methods of social cohesion, *they* made politics; from theories of conduct and undefined right and wrong, *they* made ethics; they found men arriving at conclusions, and *they* invented logic; lastly, *they* turned the content of the Gospel into a theology.

Though this hand-book is one of a series of *Studies in Theology*, it is equally of service to students of the Classics, as the titles of some of its chapters will show: The New Era Beginning with Alexander the Great, Social and Moral Conditions of the Graeco-Roman World, Religious Conditions of the Graeco-Roman Period, The Jew, The Greek, The Roman, The Language of Christianity. It is, in short, a very vivid and suggestive sketch of the Graeco-Roman background of the New Testament, and it presents in a nutshell the results of very wide reading in Greek and Latin authors. Numerous and illuminating citations and references are made, and many instructive parallels are suggested between ancient and modern life and thought. Like our own civilization Hellenism, spread over the ancient world by Alexander's conquests, was a 'melting-pot' of the nations—a 'mixing-bowl', in the striking expression of the pseudo-Plutarch, and this easy and interesting survey of that momentous process may be cordially commended to all students of the movements and ideas that more than all others have created the modern world.

HOBART COLLEGE.

HERBERT H. YEAMES.

HUMANISTIC CONFERENCES AT CHAUTAUQUA

The week of July 10, officially styled Art and Archaeology Week at Chautauqua, was rounded out by a series of Humanistic Conferences on Friday and Saturday, July 14-15. The program and arrangements were in the hands of Dr. Mitchell Carroll, Secretary of the Archaeological Institute of America, and Professor R. H. Tanner, of Illinois College, both members of the faculty of the Chautauqua Summer Schools. The announced aim of the Conferences was to consider problems pertaining to the teaching and presentation of the Classics and archaeology in High School and College, so as to win for them a larger place in the thought and life of students and of the general public. The Conferences were designed to appeal to two classes of people, the general public, as exemplified by the Chautauqua community, and the classical enthusiast.

Probably the most beneficial results came from the regularly scheduled lectures of Art and Archaeology Week. Classics and archaeology were brought to the attention of many persons by the lectures of Professor F. W. Kelsey on St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome and on the Classics, of Professor Carroll on America's Archaeological Heritage and on Athens, of Professor J. H. Breasted on Egypt and on Archaeology, of Mr. Bailey on Theseus and the Minotaur, and by Professor Clark's readings of the *Antigone*, the *Trojan Women*, the *Clouds*, and Stephen Phillips's *Ulysses*.

Professor Carroll, in explaining briefly the purposes of the Conferences, dwelt on the importance of the study of the achievements of man, as illustrated by language and literature, history and archaeology. Professor Kelsey followed with the main address of the first Conference, on Classics in High School and College. After tracing the great development of education in this country, he pointed out certain faults of our system: specialization, politics, lack of discipline. The Classics, he said, are needed for breadth of culture, for discipline and for artistic excellence.

Professor B. L. Ullman, of the University of Pittsburgh, read a paper on *The New Latin*, in which he pointed out how the teaching of Latin has responded to the newer demands in education. He stressed particularly the importance of the Latin element in the English language and showed how the events of the day as reported by the newspapers can be utilized in the Latin class-room to give added meaning to the Latin texts. Professor L. E. Lord, of Oberlin College, presented a most interesting paper on Classics and the Asphyxiating Gas of the Educational Requirement. He called attention to a situation which is of vital concern to all who are interested in the teaching of High School subjects. As he put it, the appreciation of the Classics depends on enthusiastic High School teaching. Enthusiastic teaching depends upon a thorough mastery of the subject to be taught. But professors of education are succeeding in having laws passed requiring students to know the theory of education to the neglect of subject-matter. It is ridiculous to infer that a professor of education is capable of teaching pupils how to teach just because he has been taught how to teach them to teach. Subject-matter is of prime importance. Professor Lord's paper made such an impression that a committee was appointed to draft resolutions covering the points raised. The following resolutions were adopted at the Saturday meeting:

"The Humanistic Conference comprised of representatives from educational institutions of many states views with apprehension the tendency to narrow legislation in certain States which is defining the preparation of High School teachers legally in terms of study in the history and methods of education without reference to preparation in the subjects

taught. The Conference recommends the framing of such legislation hereafter as shall make the emphasis upon preparation in the subjects taught at least equal to that upon methods of teaching".

On Saturday morning Professor J. H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, spoke informally on *Twentieth Century Methods of Teaching Ancient History*. He stressed the importance of oriental history. A paper by Professor Henry Browne, of University College, Dublin, on *How to Quicken Appreciation of the Classics*, urged the circulation of loan exhibits of slides, photographs and small antiquities. Professor Tanner closed the session with an illustrated lecture on *Modern Productions of Greek Tragedy*. After reviewing the history of Greek plays in America, he showed in a most interesting way how the various practical problems connected with the giving of Greek plays can be met. It should be added that during the summer the *Antigone* and the *Electra* were given at Chautauqua under Professor Tanner's direction.

It is not possible to predict whether these Conferences will have an increasing importance as the years go by. They have in them great possibilities—there is need of something to bring together the various humanistic forces of the country. In any case it will be distinctly worth while to encourage a classical week at Chautauqua in order to bring classical subjects of interest to the attention of the Chautauqua public.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

B. L. ULLMAN.

THE NEW YORK LATIN CLUB

The first meeting of The New York Latin Club for 1916-1917 will be held at Hunter College, 68th Street and Lexington Avenue, Saturday, November 11, at 11.30. Mr. John Jay Chapman will address the Club on the subject of *Lucian*. Luncheon will be served immediately after the address.

All who expect to attend the luncheon are asked to notify Miss J. G. Carter, at Hunter College, on or before November 8. Information concerning dues to The New York Latin Club, the cost of tickets to the luncheons, etc., may be had of the Treasurer of the Club, Dr. W. F. Tibbetts, Curtis High School, New Brighton, S. I., New York.

In June last, Professors P. O. Place and C. C. Bushnell, of Syracuse University, published a pamphlet of 16 pages, entitled *Latin and the Agitation for a Single Degree in Liberal Studies*. By way of preface the authors write:

Our purpose in this pamphlet is to oppose the reduction of the Latin requirement for the A.B. degree that would follow the establishment of but one degree for all courses in institutions where at present the B.S. degree is given.

The topics treated in this most interesting and helpful pamphlet are I. Historical Development of Three Types of Liberal Studies (1-2); II. The Attack on Latin, and a Counter-Attack (3-12); III. The Three Degrees as Versus the One Degree (13-16). Under II proof is offered, by a detailed presentation, through tables, of the situation with respect to Latin all over the country in Colleges and Universities, that there is not a tendency in this country against Latin (3-10). Then follow a Discussion of the Etymological Argument for Latin, of the Disciplinary Argument for Latin, of the Importance of a Knowledge of the Past, an answer to Herbert Spencer's charge that Latin is "undemocratic", an argument that Latin is really a living language to the American, much more so than, for example, German, etc.

There is, finally, a useful page of suggestions about methods and ways of teaching Latin.

The authors will gladly furnish copies of this pamphlet on application.

C. K.

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